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764 The more common later form of disposal was interment in a sitting posture, the body enveloped in a hide roll or mantle, the deceased's belongings or most of them being burned. (Peña, 1914, p. 11; Muñiz, 1917, p. 213; Gardiner, 1852, p. 23; Musters, 1871, p. 178; Roncagli, 1884, p. 779; Spegazzini, 1884, p. 236; Borgatello, 1924, pp. 22–23.) The deceased person's horses were killed, and the skin of one or more of them stuffed with straw and set up at the grave (Lozano [Cardiel and Quiroga, 1747] 1836–7, pp. 16–17, and later sources). Some placed food in the grave, others did not (Viedma, 1837 b, p. 78). Poles with banners were also put up at the grave. Killing of the dead person's dogs and other animals was common. Viedma (1837 a, p. 47; 1837 b, p. 77) reports a case of turning over the corpse to the old women for secret burial.

765 As mourning rites, the women wailed, scratched their faces and gashed their cheeks (Viedma, 1837 b, p. 77), and cut their hair or ends of it and threw them into the fire, while, according to Gardiner (1852, p. 23) the surviving male relatives cut gashes in the calves of their legs. The widow painted her face black. The name of the dead was not mentioned. According to Viedma (1837 b, pp. 77–78), in his day, mourning, in the case of a young person or of one in robust middle age, continued 15 days, with 1 day of mourning each succeeding moon and 3-day mourning at the first anniversary; but on the death of an aged person, only a broken-down horse was killed.

775 **Future life.**—Very meager data are found in our sources. Belief in a future life is clear; the rest obscure. According to Viedma (1837 b, p. 78), when an aged person died his soul just passed on, while when a young and robust person died, he (his spirit) was retained below the earth until such time elapsed as would have brought him to old age had he lived, and then passed into the first child born. According to Coan (1880, p. 172) and Borgatello (1924, p. 22), the lot of the good and evil differed in the future life.

WARFARE AND CANNIBALISM

See pages 153–154.

ESTHETIC AND RECREATIONAL ACTIVITIES

531 **Art.**—Geometric designs (fig. 19) of considerable complexity were painted in red, yellow, green, blue, white, and black on mantles. (Cf. Lothrop, 1929, for details and affiliations.) Crude zoomorphic and other pictographs (*Tehuelche?*, or proto-*Tehuelche?*) occur in *Tehuelche* territory.

526 **Games and gambling.**—The later *Tehuelche* were very fond of
525 horse-racing, a ball game (the *Araucanian* pillma), dice (Spanish), and card playing (Spanish); and Coan (1880, pp. 77, 153) reported

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hockey (no doubt, *Araucanian*). The *Tehuelche* did a great deal of recreational swimming and diving, at which they were very proficient. They, even the women, were greatly addicted to gambling at horse-racing, dice, and cards.

Music and musical instruments.—Songs were without words. The early *Tehuelche* used a bark rattle hung to the girdle when dancing (Fletcher, 1834, p. 50); the later people used a rattle of dried bladder or hide, a skin-covered drum, the musical bow (fig. 18, *h*), and (Musters, 1871, p. 77) a flute of guanaco thighbone (probably the long bone used with the musical bow). The bull-roarer and trumpet were absent. (For details on *Tehuelche* musical bow and songs, see Lehmann-Nitsche, 1908 *a*, and Fischer, 1908.)

Tobacco and alcoholic beverages.—Gambling, smoking, and alcoholic beverages were absent from early *Tehuelche* culture, before the 18th century, but later were passionately indulged in (fig. 18, *l*). A favorite procedure among smokers was to lie prone on the ground and to swallow the smoke in order to produce temporary intoxication. (Carteret, 1770, p. 23; Coan, 1880, p. 216; details in Bourne, 1853, pp. 94–95.) Many *Tehuelche* in Musters' time did not smoke or drink at all (Musters, 1872, p. 199); some did not smoke in Prichard's time (1902, p. 101). Tobacco was commonly mixed with calafate (*Berberis* sp.) wood shavings for smoking (Prichard, 1902, p. 100).

Recent *Tehuelche* held an eating and drinking feast, called malón, with dancing, during which they sang and struck their mouths rhythmically with the palms of their hands to break the song, and often with bloody fighting before the feast closed (Borgatello, 1924, pp. 20–22).

[illegible]

Our information on *Tehuelche* religion is extremely meager, superficial, and vague. Great confusion, not to say contradiction, reigns, as a result partly of cultural mixture in the Patagonian and especially Pampean region, partly of failure on the part of some otherwise excellent first-hand observers to distinguish exactly between tribe and tribe.

From out of the welter there seems to emerge pretty clearly the conclusion that the *Tehuelche* believed in a Supreme Being, looked upon as in general benevolent and good, but rather aloof and otiose. (See esp. Viedma, 1837 *b*, pp. 75, 79; Musters, 1871, p. 179; 1872, p. 202; Borgatello, 1924, p. 22.) Whether he was the Maker or moral law-giver is not clear, nor have we evidence of any cult, at least in the way of public rites. The more commonly occurring names by which he was known, although some of these may not be *Tehuelche*, are: Guayava-cunnee (*Tehuelhet*, Falkner, 1774, p. 114, "lord of the dead"); Soycha (*Tehuhet* and *Dinihet*, ibid.; *Patagon*, Dobrizhoffer,

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cliff rendered it by no means a desirable place of abode, but the pasture skirting the marsh was green and luxuriantly tender. While I was endeavouring to secure some ducks and teal with the bolas, two of the Chilians came up searching for firewood. They bitterly bewailed their lot in having to work and slave for a parcel of savages, but finally forgot their grievances in a slumber under a bush. Not caring to be supposed to have been in their company, I returned to the camp, and examined the rocks, which were different to those previously observed, showing in many places granite, with schistose veins, and what appeared to be a species of grey marble. A stay was made in this place of some four days, and would have been longer, but that on the third day some of the party, chiefly boys, who had strolled away a short distance, balling small birds, came in with the news that Indians were coming from the south. A scout was immediately sent out, horses brought up, and arms got ready. Casimiro came to me for a supply of cartridges for the revolver, saying, 'Now we shall have to fight; for if those Southern Indians beat us, they will spare neither man, woman, nor child.' This was cheering news, seeing that the odds were likely to be about ten to one against our side. However, just as we were mounting, the scout returned with the news that he had found no traces of Indians; the supposed enemy being only a troop of guanaco coming down to water. Cayuke, on its being ascertained that there was really no danger, had one of his horses killed as a thank-offering; the meat of course being distributed for food amongst his friends. There is in this place, which is called by the Indians 'Amakaken,' a large spherical boulder of marble, which it is the custom of the Indians to try their strength by lifting. Casimiro informed me that this stone had been there for many years, and the custom was very old. It was so large and heavy that I was just able to grasp it with both arms, and raise it to the level of my knees, but some of the Indians managed to lift it to their shoulders. The night subsequent to the false alarm,

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In the range of hills described as visible from Kaimak, there is a mine or vein of iron ore, about a mile due west from the brook, and marked by a large mass of white quartz. This is used by the Indians in the manufacture of bolas, and an excursion was made to it. We brought back numerous pieces, some of which, now in my possession, have been examined, and pronounced to be brown and magnetic iron ore. The Indians also told me that some leagues to the east of this spot a mass of iron, having, as well as could be gathered from their account, the shape of a bar-shot, lies in the middle of a barren plain, and is regarded by them with superstitious awe. Whether this be an aërolite, or has any connection with the ore on the hill side, it was not in my power to determine, for in the critical state of feeling then prevalent a visit of inspection was impracticable. 135 [823]

On the 22nd of October we marched a few miles, always following the line of hills, and in a northerly course. Ostrich eggs still formed the main staple of food, and furnished a diet sufficiently nutritious, but producing all the effects of a course of 'Banting.' Fortunately this day two of us killed fat pumas, some steaks off which broiled, by way of variety, were an acceptable addition to the evening meal; but from experience I should advise all travellers to boil their puma. We encamped in a small gorge in the hills, directly under a peculiarly pointed rock, which is called Yowlel, or Ship Rock, from its resemblance to a ship under sail, and is regarded with superstition by the Indians, who believe that all who endeavour to ascend it in the calmest weather will, on arriving at the summit, have their mantles blown to pieces by furious gusts of wind. 146 252 133 823

The next day—a glorious morning, after a night's rain—we proceeded in the same direction; and while waiting for the heavy baggage, in the shape of the women and children, several of us repaired to a regular racecourse—a beaten track six feet wide, extending for almost three miles, level and free from stones, though rather sandy. Here we had trials of the 526

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526 speed of our horses to while away the interval; and when the women appeared, proceeded to the chase, over a pampa formed by a bend in the range of hills. During the hunt
136 we found the carcase of a guanaco, which had been killed by a puma, carefully covered up in grass and scrub. It was a fat animal, such as the puma always singles out, although I have read in some accounts that he follows the herds and picks up the weakly ones. That this is not the case was proved on various occasions, by finding the carcases left by these cats, which were always those of animals in good con-
133 dition. Early in the afternoon we arrived at the encampment, by the side of a small river, flowing in an easterly direction from the hills. The women, with the exception of one or two, were not present, and might be seen about two miles off,
[137] grubbing up a description of potato which grew in the neighbouring hill side. The day was warm, and Orkeke invited me to go to the top of one of the hills to see if any smoke or signs of Indians were visible. We accordingly crossed the stream, and while riding along the northern bank I observed fish swimming lazily on the top of the water. After crossing a marshy patch of ground, we ascended the hills, and dismounting near a bank of blue earth, climbed on foot to the summit, which was composed of a description of quartz, with crystalline veins running through it. Scrambling up this formation, we arrived at the top, whence we had a beautiful view of the encampment and the green pasture bordering the stream. To the northward the view was rather shut in by hills rising to a considerable elevation. Just below us lay a valley, in which several guanaco and ostriches were taking their evening meal. We remained here for some time smoking and enjoying the face of nature generally, but could discern no smoke or signs of Indians. Orkeke remarked that the pasture had a fresher appearance lower down the course of the stream, and proposed that we should inspect it. We accordingly descended from our elevated position, mounted, and proceeded to the valley below; in our descent

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mon near Buenos Ayres. I had encountered them even as [136]
low as Santa Cruz, but never in such large numbers. Our 224
hunts on the plain were not so successful as those on the hilly range, although in the previous year the Indians asserted that the reverse had been the case. Perhaps the guanaco had gained in experience, and felt themselves safer in the rocky heights where riders were likely to get bad falls. The Northern Indians rode most recklessly, going at full speed 492
down the most precipitous places, and, strange to say, although one or two accidents did occur resulting in broken limbs, they were not numerous. This speaks volumes for the sure-footedness of their horses. It is their custom, when hunting in rocky places, to place hide shoes on the horses fore feet as a safeguard against sharp stones. After hunting, it was the rule every evening for those owning spare horses (and indeed for those who did not) to repair to the racecourse a little before sunset, and train or run their horses, or look on at the others, and if there was a race, make bets. The manner of racing is something similar to 526●
that in vogue amongst the Gauchos in the provinces of 525
Rio de la Plata, except that it is generally conducted on principles of fair play. The stakes are always deposited before the race comes off: if horses, they are tied out handy; if ornaments, bolas, &c., &c., they are placed in a heap, the winners removing them directly the race is decided. The horses are run bare-backed, the two riders starting themselves after cantering side by side for a few yards. Owing to the great care taken in training the horses, very few false starts ever occur. The races are very often for long distances, four miles or a league being the average, although, of course, with young horses the distance is shorter. The 231
Indian manner of breaking colts is similar to that of the Gauchos; they are, however, more gentle with their horses, and consequently break them better. One rarely sees a horse amongst the Indians that is not perfectly quiet; indeed, the smallest children are nearly always mounted on the

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nearly lost his life in consequence, and his tears and abject 525
supplications showed the terror he was in, but happily he on this occasion escaped. Strange to say, I was in no way suspected, although I knew where the tobacco was kept, which I doubt if the deserter did.

The game of ball is confined to the young men, and is 526
played as follows. A lazo is laid on the ground so as to form a ring about four yards in diameter; the players, generally eight in number, step into the circle naked, with the exception of the waistcloth. A ball composed of hide stuffed with feathers, about the size of or larger than a tennis-ball, is used by each party, who throw it up from under the thigh, and strike it with the hand at the adversaries', each hit counting a point. Great dexterity and activity are shown by the young men, and although I never joined in any of their regular matches, I frequently watched the parties occupied in the game, in which their splendid muscular development was brought out conspicuously. Besides these amusements, the Indians, when ammunition is plentiful, occasionally fire at a mark; but as their bullets are frequently hammered round with stones, the practice is at times erratic, and the guns are also sometimes more dangerous to the marksman than the mark.

The daily routine of occupations and amusements is varied 852
sometimes by a fight, and more pleasantly by some one or other of the ceremonials which mark—as in all nations—the principal epochs of Tsoneca life, from the cradle to the grave. On the birth of a child, if the parents are rich, *i.e.*, own plenty of mares and horses, and silver ornaments, notice is immediately given to the doctor or wizard of the tribe, and to the cacique and relations. The doctor, after bleeding himself with bodkins in the temple, fore-arm, or leg, gives the order for the erection of a mandil tent, or pretty house as the Indians call it, and mares are slaughtered, and a feast and dance follow, such as described in Chapter III., page 80, as having taken place in the valley of the Rio Chico. The

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After a good dinner we adjourned to see the races, a great match being on between the two tribes. The course was about four miles; and the race resulted in a victory for the Tehuelches. Both sides had backed their favourites heavily; and as on this occasion the ladies took a prominent share in the betting, the Tehuelches were in great glee, having won from the fair Araucanians many valuable mandils and lechus. In the evening a grand feast took place, with a mandil tent and dance.

Near this place grew a quantity of the wild potatoes, and the women used to start early in the morning and come back towards evening with their horses loaded. The tubers were the largest I had seen, and closely resembled the sweet potato in flavour. The usual way of cooking them was boiling in a pot, a sod of earth being placed over all to keep the steam in.

We made a stay of eight days in Esgel-kaik, amusing ourselves by racing, visiting the Araucanos, and passing a very pleasant time, the only drawback being the illness of Crimé, who grew gradually worse.

The day before our departure, Jackechan and El Sourdo intimated that, as they feared a disturbance, and wished to keep clear of any fight, they would not accompany us to Las Manzanas, but purposed to proceed in the direction of Chupat, and send in a messenger to the Welsh colony. So I at once took the opportunity of forwarding a letter to Mr. Lewis Jones, requesting certain supplies of yerba, tobacco, and sugar.

On February 5th the whole camp broke up, Jackechan and two toldos marching to the north-east, and the remainder, who now formed an extensive train, marching almost due north. Before leaving, Jackechan sent one of his wives and his youngest son, who was remarkably attached to me, to our toldo, to be under the charge of her father, Kai Chileno. El Sourdo had pressed me to go with their small party, and for some time I wavered, but thought it best to stick to Casimiro, and pay a visit to Checoque, and the much-praised

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During our stay (until the 29th) in this encampment, the cold winds again set in, and snow fell on one occasion, but not in great quantity, and we were all very glad at length to get the order to march, and proceeded in joyous expectation of shortly meeting the chasquis with news from the other Indians. By this time the young guanaco had grown to considerable size and afforded a lengthened chase, but their skins were useless for mantles, the fur having acquired more of the thick woolly nature of that of the full-grown animal. The next halt was made in a place called Telek, a valley of considerable width, on one edge of which the burrow of a Patagonian hare or cavy was pointed out to me, but the owner was not visible. Here a messenger arrived with an answer to our letter from Foyel, indited by a Valdivian Indian named Antonio Guaita, educated by the missionaries, who filled the post of secretary to the chief. The caciques having formed a circle, in which my place was next the president, Casimiro, the chasquis were introduced, and ceremoniously handed me the letter, written in most peculiar Spanish, which, after some private study, I was able to decipher and expound to the attentive assembly. It contained many expressions of goodwill, and hopes of a speedy meeting, winding up with an apology that, owing to having left his country north of the Rio Limay, and come down into these parts in order to hunt the young guanaco, he regretted having so few warriors in his train wherewith to welcome 'the great chief of the south,' viz., Casimiro. After this function, with my deportment in which, be it modestly said, all the chiefs were much pleased, as well as gratified by the amicable contents of the despatch, one of the Araucanian caciques assuring me with many compliments that his horses were always at my disposal for a mount, all adjourned to a shooting match, or rather pistol practice, at which the performances were decidedly moderate, and the mark seemed to be the safest place. Starting thence on March 8, and travelling always north-

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in consequence of which a quantity of mares and horses were slaughtered, and numbers of ponchos, ornaments, and other property burnt by the parents in their grief. It was most distressing to see and hear the melancholy manifestations of sorrow, and the sound alone of that dreadful crying aloud, and the dismal 'ullagoning,' to use the Irish expression, of the old women, haunted me even in my sleep. The night of our arrival a mock combat with the Gualichu took place, in which everybody joined. After dark, when many were sitting by the firesides conversing, and I myself was reclining on my bed smoking, the doctor came into the toldo, and communicated with the chief, who told all to get their arms ready, and loaded his gun: on a shout being set up all fires were immediately extinguished, and all commenced firing off guns, clashing their swords, and beating the backs of the toldos, and yelling 'kow-w!' at each blow; firebrands being, at the same time, thrown into the air by the women, with clamorous shouts and cries. The scene was wild and striking, the darkness of the night being only illuminated by the flashes of the guns or the sparks from the brands whirled high into the air. At a given signal all stopped simultaneously, and for two or three minutes the camp remained in perfect darkness, after which the fires were relighted, and things resumed their ordinary aspect.

The following day, strange to say, a real fight took place, in which one man was wounded, and for a few minutes a general *mêlée* or free fight appeared imminent. Parties were already forming to cancel old blood feuds, when further mischief was checked by the return of Hinchel, myself, and others. We had been absent trying new horses on the race-course, which, as in almost all the camping-grounds since leaving the Rio Sengal, was a regular beaten level track of about a couple of miles in length, and my new horse had established his fame as a racer by winning a match over a distance of a mile and a half; meanwhile the quarrel broke out—such are the uncertainties of Indian life.

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The third is a branch of the great Araucanian race, which has its head-quarters near Las Manzanas, in or about the same latitude as Valdivia, from which it is about sixty miles distant, on the eastern slopes of the Cordillera. These may be described as the border race, seldom descending much to the south of the Rio Limay, though they cross the Cordillera to Valdivia and Araucania. 101

Of these three races the Tehuelche or Aboriginal will occupy the chief portion of the time at my disposal, which will not admit of giving more than a short sketch of their manners and customs, and a few very brief remarks on the distinctive characteristics of the others.

The traditionary gigantic stature of the Patagonians is naturally, as I have learnt by experience, the first point as to which inquiries are made. Of the two divisions of the race, the southern slightly surpass the northern in height, but not in muscular development. The average height of the southern Tehuelches is rather over five feet ten, but I have seen many six feet, and some attaining six feet four; the great breadth of the chest and the muscular power of the limbs cannot fail to arrest the attention of any one seeing them for the first time, and it is easy to imagine that if such men came down to meet the first Spanish voyagers, they would, especially when seen dressed in their long mantles, appear of gigantic proportions. Some of the women whom I saw were remarkably tall. The wife of the cacique "Orkeke" was very little short of six feet, and possessed a corresponding robust form and strength of muscle, but the average female height did not exceed five feet six. I never remarked the weakness and want of muscular power in the legs attributed to them by some travellers. They are very active and good runners, and, in their games of ball, display great quickness and strength; they almost invariably travel on horseback, but as an illustration of their walking powers I may mention that two of them who volunteered to go to Buenos Ayres in the sealing schooner, after waiting for several days in the mouth of the river for a fair wind grew restless, and finally walked back to the trading station, a distance of between forty and fifty miles, without food, in about fourteen hours, and when they arrived did not appear in any way distressed, merely remarking that it had been a long walk. 142 481 [526]

They usually have large heads covered with long black hair, dark sparkling eyes, which give a bright intelligent look to their oval faces. Their foreheads are generally good (retreating foreheads being rare) with peculiar prominences over the eyebrows. Their noses are often aquiline, but varying as in other countries, but generally with a marked breadth of nostrils. Their natural complexion is reddish brown, scarcely, however, deserving the 142

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horse they can catch; whilst the girls play at making miniature 857
teldos, and sitting in them.

The Indians evince great affection for their children, in- 861
dulging them in every way, and never chastising them for freaks
or acts of mischief. They are inveterate gamblers, manufactur- 525
ing their own cards out of hide, and will sometimes remain two
or three days without food, as it is unlucky to eat whilst play-
ing, absorbed in games of chance, on which they stake all their
possessions. The men, also, when opportunity offers, race their
horses, winning and losing heavy stakes on the result; but I am
bound to say that foul play is unknown, and all debts of honour
are scrupulously paid on the spot. They also play a game with 524
stones resembling the "knucklebones" of English school-boys,
and a game of ball, played by eight players, four on each side, 526
within a ring marked by a lazo laid on the ground: two balls
are used, made of hide stuffed with feathers; the player throws
the ball up from under the thigh, and strikes it with his hand
at the adversary, each hit counting a point.

They are dependent for food almost entirely on the chase; the 242
statements that they eat raw meat have probably arisen from
their custom of sometimes eating the heart, marrow, liver, blood,
and kidneys, raw. The meat is invariably cooked, that of the 252
ostrich being preferred. The most usual method of cooking on
the hunting ground is to prepare the bird so as to form a bag,
enclosing the meat with hot stones, which is placed on the em-
bers, the broth being thus retained. In camps, they also roast
the meat on spits, or sometimes boil it. The iron pots are, how-
ever, more generally used for frying out the grease or marrow.
Their occasional vegetable diet consists of the roots of a species 262
of wild potato, found, however, only in a few localities, a de-
scription of spinach, and a few other plants, when procurable.
They also eat the leaves of the dandelion, which is frequently
met with in the grassy valleys; and wild currants, strawberries, [137]
apples, and pifiones, when in the parts where they abound. In
fact, they readily eat any fruit or vegetable products obtain-
able; and are great consumers of salt, obtained in sufficient [143]
quantity from various salinas. They occasionally chew a species
of gum which exudes from the Mimosa bush; this, however, is
intended as a dentrifice. Intercourse with settlements has taught 273
the Tehuelches the uses of tobacco, sugar, yerba, and rum; none 276
of which, however, are looked upon as indispensable, with the
exception of tobacco, which is always prepared for smoking by 177
a mixture of chips of wood: many of them, however, neither
smoke nor drink.

On the birth of a child, if the parents are rich, i.e., own plenty 852
of mares, horses, and silver ornaments, notice is immediately